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from time to time in the laws and their execution, and for his interesting statistical comparisons between English and American developments. Unfortunately the many quotations from parliamentary and other reports and addresses are chiefly drawn from only one side of the controversy and could easily have been matched by equally weighty official statements and reports on the other side.

Cleveland, Ohio.

EDWARD W. BEMIS.

Michels, R. *Patriotismus und Ethik: Eine kritische Skizze.* Pp. 32. Price, 50 pf. Leipzig: Felix Dietrich, 1906.

Samuel Johnson's famous definition of patriotism might have served as motto for Robert Michels' *Patriotismus und Ethik*. From the point of view of a German socialist the writer subjects to a most brilliant and merciless criticism various current ideas of patriotism and fatherland. Whether the latter be conceived as place of birth and early training, as the seat of one's race, as the source of one's subsistence, as a community of interest within political limits, or simply as the state of which one is a citizen, Michels succeeds in showing that fatal absurdities and inequalities must result. To him class standards and not international boundaries are the real social line of cleavage in the modern world. Many readers, particularly on this side of the Atlantic, will not find it easy to agree with his statement that the sole factors which have formed the fatherland-state are force, war, and dynastic marriages. Nevertheless with some rearrangement and with certain citations of new material much of Michels' criticism of ordinary sentimental patriotism would be as valid applied to American as to German conditions. In concluding his study our author expresses the opinion that an ethical basis for patriotism may be found in national civilization, "not the enforced civilization of savages by means of brandy and the Bible, but rather civilization as the basis of the progress of humanity on its path to the realization of the greatest possible physical and intellectual welfare, physical and intellectual capacity for enjoyment, the greatest possible earthly welfare." This is altogether beautiful, and largely commendable, doubtless, yet if subjected to the same logical process that our author himself applies to other concepts it could readily be resolved into thin air. Reacting from extreme to extreme one is tempted to recall in this connection Senator Conkling's famous *mot* to the effect that when Doctor Johnson defined patriotism as the last refuge of a scoundrel he forgot the infinite possibilities that lurk within the word reform.

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ROBERT C. BROOKS.

Warne, Frank Julian. *The Coal Mine Workers, a Study in Labor Organizations.* Pp. x, 251. Price, \$1.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

Few people who glibly discuss the trade union have any actual knowledge of its manner of working, or its actual purposes. The unions are often much abused and misunderstood institutions, possessing the same virtues and shortcomings as other political and commercial organizations. Dr. Warne has

done a valuable service in placing in compact and readable form a study of the United Mine Workers of America, one of the strongest labor unions in the world. This book treats in an impartial manner the history, development, and growth of organization among the coal mine workers; the relation of the union to the business of coal mining; and the influence of the union upon its members.

The constitution and machinery of the trade union are discussed, showing that its principles are established in "right and justice," but that the placing of so much power in the hands of the leaders, as strikes have necessitated, makes everything depend upon their character. A brief and sympathetic sketch of John Mitchell and his work gives evidence of the wise choice of the United Mine Workers. The large amounts of money handled, and the heavy interests involved have caused this trade union to become in fact a great business, where success depends upon close observance of market conditions and the obeying of laws governing these conditions.

A large part of the book is given to a description of the working of the Interstate Joint Conference and the State Conferences, which are satisfactory examples of bargaining between trade unions and operators, making for stability in business. The basis of these conferences, the agreements or contracts entered into as well as the machinery which brings them into existence, are facts well worth knowing. This is followed by an outline of the work of the Anthracite Board of Conciliation which has temporarily aided in settling vexed questions in the eastern sections.

The chapter on the strike is written in a fair and impartial spirit. Explanation is given of the various forms of pressure resorted to and the reason for them. All strikes of miners from 1898 to 1904 were for increase of wage; since then against reduction. The extent to which prices and conditions are affected by the competition between different coal regions is indicated in the history of the growth of the union, and the institution of strikes.

The book properly ends with a chapter on the trade union as an institution, an institution which has come to stay, which is the most important institution given to society by the labor movement, and which, effecting as it does such vast numbers, deserves a dispassionate understanding of its real meaning. Mr. Warne's previous study of anthracite coal mining conditions in "The Slav Invasion" has given him proofs of his statement that "It is through the operation of the trades union more so than through any other social agency, that the immigrants from many climes and diverse races are sooner brought into close touch with and made to conform to American standards and customs and institutions." The trade union method of protecting wage is likened to the tariff as a protection of American infant industries. The opposition to it is compared to the opposition and distrust of any new movement of reform.

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